

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3879  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 07975

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR CY GR TU UK  
SUBJECT: CALLAGHAN MEETINGS WITH CARAMANLIS AND DEMIREL

1. HEAD OF FCO SOUTHERN EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT IAN WINCHESTER, AT REQUEST OF BRITISH PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE, BRIEFED VISITING DEPARTMENTAL OFFICER ON RESULTS CALLAGHAN'S BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH GREEK PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS AND TURKISH PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL. CARAMANLIS MEETING OCCURRED AFTERNOON MAY 10; DEMIREL MEETING TOOK PLACE MORNING OF MAY 11. TONE OF BOTH MEETINGS WAS DESCRIBED AS OPEN AND FRIENDLY.

2. MAJORITY OF CALLAGHAN-CARAMANLIS CONVERSATION WAS DEVOTED TO QUESTIONS OF FUTURE GREEK MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. ONLY TOWARD END OF MEETING DID TOPIC SHIFT TO CYPRUS AND THE AEGEAN. CARAMANLIS ADAMANTLY INSISTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO PROGRESS ON CYPRUS, THAT HE EXPECTED NONE WOULD OCCUR BEFORE TURKISH ELECTIONS, AND THAT NONE WAS LIKELY AFTER ELECTIONS WERE OVER. PAST TURKISH POSITIONS, SAID CARAMANLIS, SIMPLY DO NOT JUSTIFY OPTIMISM. HE CON-  
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CEDED THAT STAGNATION WAS DANGEROUS BOTH ON CYPRUS AND ESPECIALLY IN THE AEGEAN, BUT EXPRESSED HELPLESSNESS ABOUT BEING ABLE TO MOVE EVENTS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

3. CALLAGHAN RESPONDED THAT THE AMERICANS HAD BEEN DOING THEIR VERY BEST, ESPECIALLY ON CYPRUS, AND THAT THEY DESERVED FULL WESTERN SUPPORT AND BACKING. AMERI-

CANS WERE HAMPERED AT PRESENT BY UNWILLINGNESS OF CONGRESS TO LIFT OR SOFTEN ARMS EMBARGO. CARAMANLIS DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY TO THESE POINTS BUT SAID HE HAD HAD A CONVERSATION WITH DEMIREL IN LONDON, WHO HAD URGED HIM TO HOLD DOWN TEMPERATURE IN AEGEAN DURING THE TURKISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN, BUT WHO ACKNOWLEDGED THERE WERE NO GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM ABOUT AN EARLY SOLUTION TO GREEK-TURKISH DISPUTES.

4. CALLAGHAN EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THE GREEKS AND TURKS WERE AT LEAST TALKING TO EACH OTHER, AND SAID HE WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT SOLUTIONS COULD BE FOUND TO CURRENT AEGEAN DIFFICULTIES. THE CONTINENTAL SHELF AND AIR SPACE QUESTIONS, THOUGH DIFFICULT, WERE SOLVABLE. CARAMANLIS CLOSED CONVERSATION BY INDICATING THAT GREEKS HAD TRIED TO BE ACCOMMODATING, HAD BEEN RESTRAINED IN DEALING WITH SPECIFIC TURKISH PROVOCATIONS, AND HAD MADE PROPOSAL AFTER PROPOSAL FOR SETTLING AEGEAN QUESTIONS WHICH TURKS HAD SIMPLY IGNORED.

5. CONVERSATION BETWEEN CALLAGHAN AND DEMIREL COVERED MOSTLY DEFENSE MATTERS. DEMIREL BEGAN BY INDICATING THAT UK-TURKISH RELATIONS WERE EXCELLENT, AND THAT TURKEY HAD FEW PROBLEMS WITH MOST OF ITS ALLIANCE PARTNERS. DEMIREL ALSO SAID NATO WAS STILL NECESSARY, THAT IT HAD PREVENTED WAR IN THE PAST, AND WAS ESSENTIAL TO PREVENT SOVIET AGGRESSION IN FUTURE. DEMIREL IN-

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 07975

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DICATED THAT TURKEY INTENDED TO STAY WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, AND TO WORK ALONG LINES US PRESIDENT HAD SUGGESTED TO MODERNIZE AND STREAMLINE THE ORGANIZATION.

6. DEMIREL SAID TURKEY HAD MAJOR DEFENSE PROBLEM WITH THE UNITED STATES. TURKEY ALSO HAD SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH GREECE, PROBLEMS HE COMPARED WITH DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN THE UK AND ICELAND. DEMIREL SAID IT REQUIRED WISDOM AND GOOD WILL TO SOLVE TURKISH-GREEK DIFFICULTIES, BUT INSISTED PROBLEMS HAD NOT GROWN WORSE RECENTLY, AND INDEED THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME SIGNS OF IMPROVEMENT. DEMIREL NOTED THAT TWO YEARS AGO THE GREEKS HAD NOT WISHED TO NEGOTIATE AEGEAN ISSUES BUT THAT AGREED PROCEDURES HAD NOW BEEN DEVELOPED TO TACKLE MOST DIFFICULT AEGEAN QUESTION RELATED TO THE CONTINENTAL SHELF. DEMIREL ADDED THAT IT WAS HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT SOMETHING COULD BE ACHIEVED BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY IF ONLY THE UNITED STATES STOPPED PUSHING, AND DEMIREL SAID HE HAD TOLD THIS BLUNTLY AND DIRECTLY TO PRESIDENT CARTER.

7. CALLAGHAN THEN POINTED OUT THAT THE UNITED STATES  
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WANTED TO SEE GREEK-TURKISH DIFFICULTIES RESOLVED AND SOUGHT TO REBUILD A STRONG US-TURKISH SECURITY RELATIONSHIP. AT THE SAME TIME, CONGRESS WAS NOT PREPARED TO RATIFY THE US-TURKISH DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITHOUT PROGRESS ON CYPRUS. THE UNITED STATES HAD SHOWN ITS GOOD WILL BE RECOMMENDING THAT 175 MILLION DOLLARS IN FMS BE ALLOCATED TO TURKEY FOR FY 1978. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT DEMIREL COME TO REALIZE THAT THERE WERE PROBLEMS ON THE AMERICAN SIDE, AND THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO WORK TO LESSEN TENSIONS IN THE AREA SO THAT PROGRESS COULD BE MADE IN REBUILDING THE US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP.

8. DEMIREL SAID HE SIMPLY COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY CYPRUS HAD BECOME AN ISSUE BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES. CALLAGHAN RESPONDED THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT PUSHING TURKEY BUT THAT PRESIDENT CARTER COULD NOT OPERATE WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL AGREEMENT. THE

PRESIDENT WANTED THE DCA TO ENTER INTO FORCE. SO DID THE UK AND MOST OTHER WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS. CALLAGHAN THEN REMINDED DEMIREL THAT THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS HAD CHANGED REMARKABLY SINCE 1974 IN TURKEY'S FAVOR, AND THAT A SETTLEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED IF THE TURKS REALLY WORKED TO THIS END. A SETTLEMENT COULD CERTAINLY BE REACHED AFTER THE TURKISH ELECTIONS IF THERE WERE A REAL PUSH FROM ANKARA.

9. DEMIREL OBSERVED THAT CYPRUS ISSUE WAS VERY COMPLICATED AND SAID HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT CARTER HE SAW LITTLE HOPE IF CYPRUS REMAINED CONNECTED WITH US-TURKISH RELATIONS. CALLAGHAN REITERATED THAT IT WAS CONGRESS AND NOT THE PRESIDENT THAT HAD MADE THIS CONNECTION.

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